438 463 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

[208]

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

C71 361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P. 16 (B)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch! 224

I was always on the look-out for curios when among the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow. 441

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him. 224 [278 ● 411]

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for 797

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, [264 cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie 527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of ● 278 this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one."

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toihkunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines." 539

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows: 778 755

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings. 782

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drinking the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be swallowed with the liquor?" 755 278

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so
●278 fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and
784 made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when selecting sites for their villages. The first thing they considered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the roots should be dug up in the spring, peeled at once, and then put in the sun to dry. When well dried, they were pulverised between two stones. Some tobacco leaves and, if possible, a capsicum should be soaked in water and the powdered roots moistened with the liquor. He also told me that a little fox's gall should be added if procurable, for this rendered the poison very efficacious. But I have a suspicion that the gall was added through superstition, the fox being regarded as a particularly able creature. When made, it was put again in the sun to dry and then stowed away, wrapped up in a leaf and a few fetishes, till needed. When wanted for use, it was again pounded and made soft, and sometimes mashed spiders or some part of the water scorpion added. The poisonous part of the "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (*Arisaema*) was also used in its manufacture. Some of the men buried it in the ground for a few days, for this was said to add strength to it.

When a person wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If right, it was said to produce a peculiar sense of tingling first and then numbness. If too much was taken, it caused drunkenness and sleep. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it was said to be unnecessary. Others tested it by placing a little between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. It here caused a burning sensation. If the poison touched the lips, the skin very soon peeled off, I was told.

When applied to the arrows, a person first dipped the arrow-head (which was generally made of bamboo) into pine tree gum; he then carefully stuck the poison into the proper place and pressed it well home with his thumb. When this had been done, he once more dipped the arrow-head into the gum, then tied a leaf round it for protection and placed it in his quiver.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 539 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kesp-Tuwuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kesp-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison, and went and found deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not 539 278 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend 117
who was out hunting. When he learned that I was
expecting to pass through his village and spend a day
or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and
hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added,
"Will you please take great care of it, for it is very
precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for
you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What
could you have found so precious out in these wild
parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried
heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to
your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it
for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he re-
turned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine 278 ●
and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." 164
Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of 755
diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my dis- 753
trict, and this should be used as a charm and antidote."
"How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A
small portion should be cut off and chopped up very
fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cook-
ed, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The
effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic
power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also
prevents the demons of disease from coming near a
person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu 753
ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various 164
diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *ereshu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among such I found the feather-columbine, the common celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand!

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a nail very hot and held it on the offending member. This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 753 164 252 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound. Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 753 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore, a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 757 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

make a poison which they called *Chikoptep*, and this means, 'corpse maker.' But such poison only affected the body. The *ramat*, 'soul,' always made its escape out of it and lived on." (The poison here referred to was made from *Zanthoxylum*, *Picrasma* and *Leucothoe* wood).

I then asked the chief how his people expressed the thing called 'death' or 'to die,' and this is what he told me.

"Death and dying are called by various names by my people. They are such as these. The most common is 'going to the lower regions'; then, 'losing bodily strength'; then, 'going away'; then, 'going to Hades'; then, 'being wound up in sleep'; then, 'sleeping the other sleep'; then, 'leaving the world behind'; then, 'abdicating one's village'; then, 'having space for thought'; then 'making a clearance'; then 'piercing the skies'; and also 'is not' and 'hidden away.'" Such, then, are the common names for this "King of Terrors," not one of which implies the idea of extinction. In this we surely find the true Ainu rationale of necrolatry.

Pursuing this subject, the chief added, "The ancient ones have said, 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders should warn him by saying, "Stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead."

Another short counsel ran thus: "Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives should surely go to that land and offer worship and libations. The dead ones observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed."

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side.

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation.

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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the form of hard lumps.

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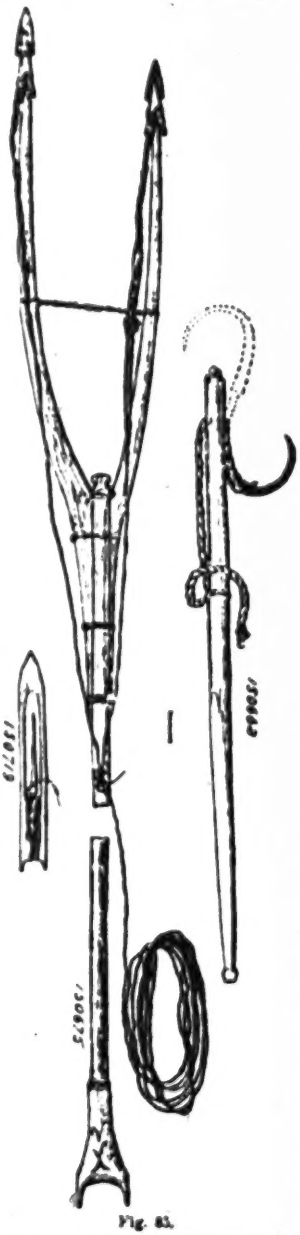

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[42]

Fig. 85.

STEEL. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-BAITS.

Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[241] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

776
773 EFFIGIES

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifuna-rep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. To-
532 gether they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
● [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we
[755] had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[779] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe; he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collection of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

/768 cont./

844 853 [292] [208] When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing seasons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade, but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties. In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

222
824
137

	Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
3.	Pukusa	Allium victorialis	Shady woods	Young leaves
4.	Korokoni	Petasites japonicus	Common	Young stalks
5.	Soroma	Osmunda cinnamonea	Wet places	Folded leaves
6.	Shikerepekina	Spathyema foetida	Wet places	Young leaves
7.	Pukusakina	Anemone flaccida	Half-shaded woods	Young leaves
8.	Tuwa	Pteridium aquilinum	Open or half-shaded places	Folded leaves
9.	Ukurukina	Hosta japonica	Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places	Young stalks
10.	Trep	Cardiocrinum Glehni	Shady woods	Bulbs
11.	Pui	Caltha Barthei	Open stream-side	Young leaves and stalks
12.	Ninum or niseu	Juglans manshurica	Terrace along streams	Nuts
13.	Shikerupeni	Phellodendron amurense	Deciduous woods	Fruit
14.	Hat	Vitis Coignetiae	Woods	Berries
15.	Kutchi	Actinida arguta	Woods	Berries
16.	Setara	Malus baccata	Sunny places	Fruit
17.	Shiuri	Prunus Ssiori	Woods	Fruit
18.	Komni	Quercus dentata	Hills and plains in coastal regions	Nuts
19.	Peroni	Quercus crispula	Hills and mountains	Nuts
	Plants for raw materials:			
20.	Sariki	Phragmites communis		Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*)
21.	Shiki or ki	Miscanthus sacchariflorus		Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing
22.	Shikina	Typha latifolia		Stalks for matting (*toma*)
23.	At-ni	Ulmus laciniata		Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*)
24.	Tat-ni	Betula spp.		Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills
25.	Suruku	Aconitum		Roots for arrow poison
26.	Kap-hai	Laportea bulbifera		Bast fibres for thread
27.	Hu-hai	Celastrus orbiculatus		Bast fibres for fishing-nets

314
824

[285] [285] [283] [278] [283] [283]